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Lessons From History.

AN ARMED PEOPLE IS ALWAYS A FREE PEOPLE
SAYS V. L. BERGER.

A very valuable Public Document for Socialist propaganda is the bill to promote the efficiency of the Militia and for other purposes. It makes the national guard of the different states—which is armed and offered very carefully by the "leisure class" and its adherents—a part and parcel of the hired soldiery of the United States, at the regular troops.

For years the militia of the different states has been virtually a guard to put down strikes and squelch "labor troubles." The new organization makes it even more pronouncedly so than before. It is a new standing army to put down the "inner enemy" of the capitalist class.

Naturally every able-bodied male citizen and all who have declared their intention of becoming citizens, of more than eighteen and less than forty-five years, are to be members. But this is only nominally the case. For in fact the militia is divided into two parts, the "national guard," which is mainly made up of clerks, bookkeepers, and officers by the "gilded youths;" and secondly, the "reserve militia," and only the National Guard is organized and armed. What does all this mean?

It means that the capitalist class of America is getting ready. It means that the capitalist class of the United States is well aware that it has outlived its usefulness and that it must resort to sheer force sooner or later if it wants to keep up its iron economic rule in this country.

A bloody struggle is approaching. The capitalist class, or rather its foremost leaders, see it coming.

Now I am not one of those Socialists who glory in "revolutionary" wars. I have sometimes been accused of being too much of an evolutionist. And we all know that a revolution can never be "made;" it is a process, even if it were the most powerful genius, nor by a few thousand men, but they ever so fanatical.

A revolution is always dependent on the development of conditions. Even a bloody revolution, if it is to mean any thing lasting, can only be the result of a general change in men's minds on certain political or economic subjects. Many revolutions may be part of one evolution. It may require many "revolutions" to carry out a thorough reform successfully.

But it is a fact that even the actual realization of a genuine reform cannot be expected as long as there is no possibility of martial resistance against the capitalist class. Should the Socialists obtain control in one or more states of the Union, the capitalist class will never permit so many branches and departments of the economic world to be taken out of their hands and given over to the Commonwealth, simply because the Socialists have a majority of votes. If they should not be able to count us out, it will be easy enough to get a judge to declare all our measures "unconstitutional," which no doubt they will, if they are to amount to anything.

And as to changing the United States Constitution, that has been changed only once since its general adoption, and this was done by a most terrible internal war. The legal mode of procedure is such that it cannot be done if the capitalist class resists.

I am an "evolutionist" and know very well that the Social Question cannot be solved in a year or even in five. I also know that it can and is solved by street riots or by insurrections.

On the other hand, those who have studied history closely know that the only way to solve any fundamental question is by force. No ruling class in the history of the world has ever yielded its power peacefully. And the American capitalist class is already making preparations.

I can see even more than this.

We shall have to fight, not for proclaiming the Co-operative Commonwealth, or even for any thorough-going Socialistic transition measure, but in all probability for keeping the degree of political liberties we now possess against the encroachment of plutocracy. We may have to fight in order to keep the one man ballot. The disenfranchisement of the negro in the southern states should serve as a warning.

I do not want to be misunderstood: I am most decidedly in favor of the ballot first and all the time and for a propaganda of education. We must have a great many more ballots and a great deal more education.

We must not forget that all nations which have revolutionized existing conditions or have resisted enslavement have been combatants. And here is the point: they fought for liberty because they could do so, they were armed.

Such was decidedly the case in the time of the Reformation and during the English Revolution.

It was in a still higher degree the case when the American colonists—men of hunters and armed farmers—took up arms against England.

In France indeed the great Revolution did not begin until the people had plundered the state arsenal on the night of the 13th of July 1789, and took thence 28,000 guns and cartridges.

And we know that the uprising of the Commune in Paris in 1871 was only made possible by the government distributing 500,000 rifles and the necessary ammunition among the proletarians of Paris in order to defend the city against the Germans. Once armed, the French proletarians, having many old scores to settle, were unwilling to return to the old slavery without a struggle. Hence the insurrection.

However, history teaches us that an armed people has always been a free people. There has been a plain example of this in the case of the Boers.

Tyrants and usurpers have therefore always taken care to disarm the people. Whenever a nation or a class comes under the yoke of another, the conquered nation or conquered class is always disarmed and rendered non-combatants.

The founders of our constitution well understood and considered all this and therefore inserted the following clause in the constitution of the United States: "A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to bear arms shall not be infringed." Amendment 11, Article 2.

This clause was placed in the constitution expressly for the purpose of giving the people an opportunity to defend their freedom. In the debate upon this clause it was insisted that such a right must be reserved for the people to guard them eventually against usurpers in our country.

It goes without saying that the founders of this republic never dreamed of such a "national guard" as ours is today—the arming of the people and hope to hold in check the great mass of the people for the benefit of a few money-bags. In those days (1783-89) there was no such a plutocracy as there is in this country. Conditions were entirely different.

But although the fathers of our republic took such anxious pains to create a "nation in arms," yet today there is scarcely any other folk in the world (except probably the Chinese and Russians) so radical disarmed, so totally without weapons as the mass of the American people. In Germany and France almost every man is a soldier; almost every man thus at one time in his life is an armed man. This gives a certain stamp upon the people. However severely military discipline is to be condemned, it has at least this ONE GOOD SIDE, it gives the man a certain self-confidence and makes him the use of a rifle. Neither the French nor the German government would dare to do such things as our coal barons in the mining regions of Pennsylvania and Illinois or our street car magnates in the cities during strikes. Besides it is not to be forgotten that the French army is made up today of Social Democrats.

And to such Americans as are afraid to trust the people with arms, the example of Switzerland proves most clearly that a disarming of the people would by no means result in an immediate revolution. In Switzerland every citizen is a soldier, owns his own rifle and keeps it at home. The government teaches the people the use of arms for reasons of state. There is a great deal less rioting and more order in America or in Russia or China, where the people are disarmed.

Consequently, if the Social Question is ever settled in any country by a spilling of blood, that country will be Switzerland.

It is not to be denied that we have been making progress, but our progress has been down hill for most of us, and some of us will soon reach the bottom.

Robert La Follette, William Jennings Bryan and other reformers of the same type commit the great mistake of not seeing the momentous truth that wherever you leave the present competitive system unchanged you cannot benefit the poor as a class without benefiting the rich and that you cannot injure the rich without injuring the poor. The only way of tying the hands of the rich is to LIMIT THE FIELD OF COMPETITION. This indeed is the great lesson of the last 30 years of economic development.

On every occasion, and especially when a labor strike is on, we hear from the judges the solemn declaration, "The labor organizations must not endanger the constitution of our country!" And the capitalist press all over the country and without difference of party, applauds this sentiment as very wise and very patriotic.

But what is this constitution really? Strictly and soberly speaking, it is our political garment—the cloak of our body politic—and nothing else. The labor organizations, on the other hand, are the natural element of our organic development—just like all other industrial institutions.

Now let us suppose a Federal judge should say to his son: "My boy, you must not grow so tall, or so broad-shouled, for if you do, you will surely endanger your clothes." This would of course be considered nonsensical, since the boy cannot help growing, no matter what happens to his garments; yet this advice would be in truth as sensible as the judges' admonition to labor organizations.

Thinking men the world over and of all shades of opinion, have hoped and believed that the twentieth century will be a century devoted to social advance and regeneration. It was considered the disgrace of the nineteenth century that with a hundred fold increase in our powers over nature's forces, and with a production adequate to supply every rational want of our whole population many times over, we have only succeeded in adding enormously to the wealth and luxury of comparatively few individuals, while the workers are, on the average, as deeply sunk in poverty and misery as before. Thinking men and women of all classes have always agreed that this great relic of barbarism must be abolished before all things, ere humanity can enter upon a new and higher stage of civilization. In our present society the bulk of the people have no opportunity for the full development of their powers and capacities, while the comparatively few others who have the opportunity have no inducement to do so. To be successful today means to possess money, and the power that this wealth gives to the lucky individuals is naturally hurtful to the rest of the people. There can be no social peace, no true culture, no fair competition, without equality of opportunity, and that cannot be had under the present economic system.

We will admit that Robert La Follette, the governor of Wisconsin, is an able man. He would even be a statesman if he were not a politician of the American type. We say American type advisedly because the American politician is a type that has never existed in any republic before, neither in old Athens nor in Rome, and does not exist now outside of this country. We do not find it in Australia or in Switzerland—said countries evidently being too small to develop it. If La Follette could cut loose from his ambitions and study and take up the question lying before every civilized people in the world, he might become a true statesman. As it is now, he is simply a politician who is fighting the "monopolies and corporations," but at the same time is gathering for himself and his followers the crumbs that are falling from the rich table of the capitalist system.

And one thing is certain: Swiss owners of factories and mills would never dare to have their workmen shot down in cold blood like wild beasts, by hired Pinkertons or by "deputy sheriffs" or by the militia, as is a common occurrence in this country. When there was a general railroad strike in Switzerland in 1897, the nation simply bought the roads and settled the strike. Please compare this method with the American mode of procedure during the Debs strike in 1894.

We see our ruling class indeed knows better how to value the advantage of arms. Not only are barracks erected and regular United States soldiers (hirelings) stationed in the neighborhood of all the large cities; but not only is the national guard limited to a comparatively few regiments, mainly recruited from the "better" class—but even in all the colleges and universities they form battalions and companies and get United States officers as instructors.

A great deal more could be said on this subject, but it cannot be the scope of one article to propose any definite plan of action. The new militia law has no doubt set more Socialists thinking on this question. Let us discuss it without fear or prejudice and looking the facts straight in the eye, as Socialists should, yet in accordance with our advanced ideas of progress and higher civilization.

A great many of the hopes of the nineteenth century will be fulfilled in the twentieth. It will be the first epoch that will bring equal opportunities to all.

As long as Robert La Follette, the governor of Wisconsin, fights capitalism from the capitalistic standpoint—from the standpoint of the Republican party—he will always be wrong. Before the forum of capitalism the corporations have the logic of events and the laws of the past undeniably on their side. This would change at once were he to fight them from the Socialist standpoint. There he would have with him the logic of events, the history of the past and the necessities of the future.

I deny the common imputation that "the Socialists are impractical, are building castles in the air, because Socialism is 'too far off.'" We don't know how far off Socialism is. And while it is true that all evolution proceeds slowly at first, it is also true that it gains very much in rapidity when it begins to gain at all and finally the decisive event is generally accomplished in a wonderful short time.

It took 300 years to develop Christianity, but then it became in a few years under Constantine the official religion of the Roman empire. The Reformation was growing for more than one hundred years, ever since Wycliffe and Huss; but in a few years it captured all the countries which are still Protestant. Precisely the same may be said of the great French Revolution and of our Abolition of Slavery. Now Socialism has been growing during the whole nineteenth century; who can deny that during the twentieth century it will become dominant in some form or another?

Referring to the outcry against the demand of organized labor for the removal of an obnoxious foreman in the Government Printing Office, and his reinstatement by Roosevelt, Eva McDonald Valesh says:

"Only a few days ago the Secretary of the Navy took up the case of a threatened strike of the machinists and iron molders in the government navy yard. The complaints of the men were found to be justified and a raise of wages was conceded to them. In all these cases there has been no hysterical outcry about government employees belonging to a trade union and dealing with its governmental employer as such. Why? Because they belong to crafts so thoroughly organized that the heads of departments dare not run counter to public sentiment and deny them their inherent right to organize, whether as employees of private corporations or of the government."

At the last meeting of the common council a resolution was introduced instructing the chief of police to close up the gambling houses that are running "wide open" in this city. The resolution was referred to the "judiciary committee" by the gamblers in the common council and there it will remain. There is nothing unusual in this. But in the course of the debate on the resolution, Ald. Biersach declared that he wanted to "go on record as being in favor of every d—n gambling house in the city of Milwaukee." And that is unusual. For frankness of this kind would get Alderman Biersach into the penitentiary if we had a district attorney and a Grand Jury that would know their duty. But in Milwaukee there is no danger. Mayor David S. Rose was elected upon a ticket where the candidate for comptroller and at least two aldermen were keepers of gambling houses. And it is safe to say that the city attorney Carl Runge and the majority of the members of our common council fully agree with their "pal" Biersach from the Second Ward. There is only one hope. Put the Social Democratic party into FULL power in city, county and state next spring and in the fall of 1904 we will have a house-cleaning as no state in this country has ever seen before. And we will have a good many other things besides. But until that is done, there is no use grumbling.

The wonderfully rapid concentration of capital in this country compels the workingmen to draw closer together and to organize more compactly, if their fight is not to be absolutely hopeless. Once they fought in companies against individual manufacturers, then in battalions and regiments against single corporations, and now they are fighting against the trusts in whole armies. Take for example the Pennsylvania coal fields.

But now a new view-point must be considered. A contest between the master shoemaker of old and his handful of journeymen could be regarded as a private affair. A battle between a street railway company and thousands of employees, or of a coal mining with hundreds of thousands, is no longer a private matter. It becomes a public affair. A constantly increasing portion of society will be made to suffer in such fights. This cannot continue, it will become intolerable. The wage-workers, whose success in the economic field has now become much more difficult, must call politics to their aid, for there their numbers are an advantage. The interests of the public and the workingmen here run parallel. The interference of the government is given, because the capitalist is now replaced by a company created by the government and subject to its jurisdiction more immediately than is an individual. The labor movement therefore cannot be maintained on an economic basis; it must take a political turn. And indeed there is a gradual development of this in English speaking countries. Here an independent political labor party, such as exists in the countries of the European continent, is not suddenly becoming the order of the day. At first there were only experiments, threats of the labor vote, pressure brought to bear on the old party politicians. We see this to a certain extent in this country even today, for instance Gompers and his crowd. But these mistaken notions will soon pass away entirely. And the end is inevitable that all the workingmen, and especially the trades union men, will organize politically and independently in the Social Democratic party, and co-operatively carry on the class struggle in the field of politics.

How we have grown in our short national career! When the constitution was framed and adopted, this nation was an infant in the cradle. Is it then good sense to expect that a garment which fitted us in swaddling clothes will still serve us when we have grown to manhood?

As a plain matter of fact, a considerable rent was made in this political garment, the constitution, some time ago, by our civil war, but this is ignored by the capitalist judges and our capitalistic press.

But just let us stop and reflect a little. The framers of our constitution, no matter how wise they were, could not possibly have guessed what tremendous changes a century would bring about, socially and economically. And as we all know, they did NOT guess.

No one of them imagined that fruit grown in California would be sent to New York to be eaten during the same week; that cattle raised in Texas would be turned into meat in Chicago and consumed in Maine. The ablest mind living a hundred years ago could not possibly have conceived that a citizen sitting in his office in Boston would be able to converse, aye, actually to talk with his partner at that moment sitting in what is now Chicago. These economic and social changes have made us what we now are. They are the impelling energies that compel us to grow. And we give our ruling class fair warning that the political garment—the Constitution—will have somehow to adjust itself to the new grown body, or it will be torn to pieces and discarded entirely in the very near future.

An eastern magazine refers to Philadelphia as a city corrupt but contented. Judging from the recent revelations as to the way the county board manages, Milwaukee is in much the same condition. Following the house of correction scandal comes the disclosures as to the way in which the contractors have fattened on the building of the new county hospital. Already they have been allowed to put on enough extras to almost double the first cost of the building. It has been a grafters' harvest, an abominable debauch of the county treasury—with several supervisors getting rich on a "divvy" with the favored contractors. The county board, made up of both of the capitalist parties, is surrounded by as damnable a lot of leech-like contractors as can be shown in any city in the country. The day for these rascals to either scatter or go to prison is fast coming. Our jails and prisons are full of poor people shut up for petty offenses, but these criminals will go at large until the Socialists get a chance at the county government.

The "business men" rule our city and govern our country and barter the money and the honor of the people for cold cash!

The "business men" rule our city and govern our country and barter the money and the honor of the people for cold cash!

Striking Side Lights.

WHAT EUGENE V. DEBS READS AND OBSERVES
HERE AND THERE.

SHAKESPEARE HAD THE GENIUS to paint some of his most striking types true to life with a few bold strokes. Here is the portrait of the social victim, sometimes the man, abandoned, wretched, despairing; sometimes the woman, betrayed, spectral:

"Famine is in thy cheeks,
Need and oppression starveth in thy eyes,
Contempt and beggary hang upon thy back,
The world is not thy friend, nor the world's law."

The capitalist system has furnished subjects enough for this gruesome picture to shock the earth and fill all hell with horror.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, through its executive committee, sends a supposedly anxious public that there need be no fear that there will be any change of policy in that organization, that the new grand chief (?) is fully as conservative as his predecessor and that the country is safe.

The bulletin was hardly necessary in view of the well known fact that the railroad companies control the policy of the brotherhood and that no man could be elected grand chief of the present organization unless he had the conservative (?) qualifications prescribed by the managers' association, who are in fact the executive committee of the organization.

The story is told that the elder Dumas was once annoyed by an impatient cad who was bent on extorting the confession from the great story teller that he was of negro extraction.

Your father? and your mother? were the questions asked in rapid succession with the malicious twinkle that denoted certain victory at the expense of his victim. "And finally, as to your great grand-parents?" was the poser that was to nail the novelist to the cross.

"My great grand-parents," answered Dumas, looking his questioner straight in the eye, "were probably monkeys, my ancestry beginning where yours left off."

The moral of this anecdote may be found in its application to the capitalist consumptive who owns a junk-shop with a mortgage on it and the "independent" workman with ingrowing nails and battle-scarred trousers who fiercely resists Socialism because it is an assault upon property and proposes a division of wealth.

An English coal porter is credited with a clever retort to a member of parliament who was pushing his way through a crowd at a show:

"Make way there! Don't you know," cried the pompous M. P., "that I'm a representative of the people?"

"Heell!" retorted the porter. "Don't you know that we ARE the people! The working class ARE the people, but are not yet conscious of the fact. The coal porter had his eyes open and it is a safe guess that he was a class-conscious Socialist."

Eugene V. Debs

A number of school children were murdered in a railroad accident in New Jersey and the case was brought into court at Newark.

For the sake of economy, the following conditions existed:

A line of swiftly moving trolley cars crossed a railroad track on a grade crossing, dodging more or less effectively a steady bombardment of the express trains and other trains of a crowded suburban traffic.

The gates of the railroad crossing were often lowered three times within five minutes. The inevitable accident happened, and a great many children were murdered. The trolley line ran down hill to the railroad track, ice made the rails unusually slippery, there was no sand in the sand box to help stop the car. The front platform was crowded with school children. For the sake of earning dividends the car was overcrowded, for the sake of SAVING dividends the deadly grade crossing existed.

The grand jury held the directors of the trolley line responsible and indicted them. A petit jury was impeded to consider the evidence and bring in a verdict.

The lawyer representing the railroad directors asked the judge to take the case away from the jury and order a verdict of acquittal.

The judge ordered an acquittal accordingly and the directors were set free. It was a mock trial, if ever there was one. One of the directors had declared with a yawn that going to court was a bore and waste of time, especially as nothing would come of it. He was a prophet, nothing DID come of it, says the Chicago-American grimly, when telling the story.

The judge who directed the jury to set the railroad directors free, forbidding them to consider the evidence for themselves, is the notorious Judge Gummere. This man in a previous case expressed from the bench the belief that the life of a child killed by a railroad or trolley is worth only one dollar.

But we say this: Verily, the time must come when every judge in New Jersey and probably in other localities also will have "to show cause why the judge should not be hanged?"

There was a time and a place in history where a similar state of affairs happened, and history will surely repeat itself.

Under the present system when production ceases to be profitable it ceases altogether, even though the entire population were starving, freezing and naked. A handful of irresponsible men are today in possession of the means of life, and we are compelled to make terms for the privilege of staying on the earth.

Now since Alderman Biersach openly declared in a council meeting that he was in favor of "every d—n gambling house in Milwaukee," why is he not sent to the penitentiary according to law? Because there are several gambling-house keepers in the common council, because gambling is under our system a "legitimate vice" and as "necessary" as prostitution and because this whole system is rotten from top to bottom.

Fortunately enough the economic conditions themselves are working towards the desired change. It is hardly necessary to say that the growth of the trusts and the tendency to consolidate industries has brought it home to all the people that some radical measures will have to be taken in self-defense. Everybody understands now that it is just as irrational to permit five or six men to control the meat supply as it would be to let these men control the air supply or the water supply. As the simplest, most effective and most logical measure, the taking over and management by the nation of all these immense properties is suggested today even by men who five years ago considered Socialism in any form as wholly visionary. And as a matter of fact the trust millionaires, the hillionaires and bullionaires can say nothing against the proposition. They are building monopolies too big for private control and these monopolies naturally must go into public possession.

Every word the advocates of capitalism say in favor of or in defense of our monster capitalist organizations is so much added to the arguments in favor of Socialism.

If the modern combination, the modern trust, proves that capitalism is no longer a benefit, that the monopoly cheapens production, and must cheapen it in order to enlarge business, then indeed it is only logical that society itself should appropriate those large institutions and direct their labor, not for the profit of the few, but for the benefit of ALL.

If monopoly is the only way in which we can conduct business, then the people must demand to own the monopoly and to select those whom they prefer as managers and directors. And is it not clear that we shall have infinitely less political corruption when there will be no trusts or quasi-public corporations to bribe and influence our legislatures, judges and officials?

So it may truly be said that we have reached the stage where the capitalist and the captain of industry has set himself to demonstrate that our theories are sound. And although he may not admit it openly, in his heart he knows that Socialism is the inevitable result of all his efforts.

We read in a morning paper: "The investigation of the house of correction is proceeding leisurely, as county board investigations are expected to proceed. Months ago it was ascertained that the county had been swindled out of thousands of dollars on printing contracts. The evidence was referred to the district attorney, who made a report. What has been done about it? Nothing."

Ye Gods, what do you expect? You do not for a single moment expect that the members of the board of supervisors who are to do the investigating are going to incriminate themselves. That would be "against the law," which prohibits "self-incrimination."

Victor L. Berger

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Social Demo
614 State Street

Strikes in Hard Times.

Eugene V. Debs, reading the newspaper interview with Chanancy M. Depew, on the blessings of strikes, made this reply:

"Strikes are signboards of prosperity. Nothing more and nothing less," said senator Chanancy M. Depew. "You never hear of strikes in hard times."

"This is rich—the more strikes the more prosperity! Let's all strike and then we will have the planet by the tail."

"If an epidemic of boils should break out and every workman had a Job lot of the comforters, the sapient senators could swear that they were the inevitable concomitant of the 'full dinner pail,' due to 'industrial prosperity.'"

"And you never hear of strikes in hard times, eh? How about the railroad strike and riots that swept the country in 1873, senator? And the awful railroad strikes of 1877, senator? When for the first time the federal government filled the jails with railroad employees simply for striking? And what do you say about the great coal strike, the still greater railroad strikes, the trolley army and so on in 1894, when names were as hard, senator, as yours to make workmen to be soft?"

"That sort of rot is sufficient to brand its author as feeble minded or as a knave. The senator is not feeble minded. His constituents are, or he could not represent them in the senate."

—

Value to Unions of the Delegates.

The delegates have acquired an expert's knowledge of the character, labors and record and fighting qualities of the contractors that oppose them. Some of those delegates who have been in the last fifteen or twenty years are considered invaluable by the men. "If you want Binnik," said a group of New Yorkers, "I was talking with, 'we have no one that could take his place.'"

"They're no mutual admiration society or talkfest either," said a delegate from an unskilled trade. "They're plain business proposition. You don't hear any loud mouths shooting off or over the rights of labor at the board. It's all dollars and cents. They get through more business in one meeting than some labor bodies I might mention do in a year." Some of them even have the manners and appearance of plain business men. "Who was that lawyer that gave me such a sensible talk?" asked a business man after a Civic Federation conference. The "lawyer" was the president of one of the strongest unions, a man who is called by the delegates "the brains of the board."

—

E. W. Walling in World's Work.

Women Workers' Small Pay.

Carroll D. Wright, United States industrial commissioner, gives the following reasons why women workers receive smaller pay than men: First, the women come into the industrial system

second, she holds a lower standard of industrial demands, caused to some extent by a lower standard of life, both physical and mental features; third, insufficient equipment, due not to incapacity, but to the thought that permanency of employment will be interrupted by matrimony, and also to the fact that she lacks, so far, the influence that comes from association and communication, and, fourth, she is not a political factor in society.

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atic Herald,
Milwaukee, Wis.

Hang Together.

Clergyman's Sound Advice to the Mill
Who Labor.

In the course of a sermon recently delivered Rev. Charles Bayard Mitchell, of the First Methodist church of Cleveland said:

In view of the fact that all are laborers and that there is dignity in honest toil, think not meanly of your work. All honest toil is menly. There is God, our American ideal of a gentleman includes the toiler and excludes the tramp. The European ideal excludes the toiler and includes the tramp, or the man who will not work. Our modern civilization is the result of the toil of the man who works. It tilled our forests, tills our farms, works our mines, builds our vast structures, runs our railroads and builds our steamships. And the mechanic is as full of achievement as the farmer. The very pyramids are his monuments.

I call on you men to honor your own special trade. Do not apologize for it. When I was a "printer's devil" I was proud of the ink on my cheek. Ellis Burritt always declared himself a blacksmith, though he was one of the greatest scholars of his age. Honor your own trade by showing that a manly life can be lived in its pursuit. Lend your influence to exalt the dignity of your calling. To this end ally yourself with your fellow tradesmen. Organize your fellows for self improvement and for the betterment of the race. Organize for self protection. Do not do bang together you will have a separate trade. Labor has the same right to organize that capital has. If you do not organize you will not be treated as men, but like slaves. Every protection that labor has secured, even success which has been secured by labor, everything done to increase its wage and its candilies in shop and home, has been brought about through the organized effort of laboring men. The very men who refuse to ally themselves in organization with their fellow workers are also participants in the advantages which have resulted from the efforts of those with whom they refuse to unite.

As Amused Editor.

Bakers' Local union No. 19 of Albany has undertaken the somewhat difficult task of abolishing night work in the bake shops of the city. That it contemplates a strike as the means of attaining the desired end is a matter of course, but what is most unusual is that it is entirely unprecedented, says the New York Times, is the fact that before taking action it has explicitly recognized that there is a third party interested to wit, the deer, patient public. The union has been doing by issuing a formal notice of its intention addressed to said public and devoted to the most part to the presentation of reasons why, from the public's point of view, it would be a good thing if the bakers were allowed to work by day and sleep by night like most other people. "The old accustomed way of procuring hot breadstuffs for breakfasts," this remarkable address begins, "since has taught us to be a deep rooted evil and a producer of dyspepsia and indigestion to the public as well as to our members. Dyspepsia an well indigestion is 50 per cent greater in the United States than in any of the other civilized countries in the world, brought mostly by the use of hot breadstuffs." We therefore have a right to feel confident of the moral support and sympathy of the public to make this important movement a success even at the cost of a little inconvenience of but short duration."

Further on in their address the Albany bakers tell how, in their opinion, night work hurts themselves and their families, but they do this, nominally in jest, as a second thought. It is more than refreshing; it is beautiful and touching to such an extent that we heartily wish the bakers may succeed in Albany.

Child Labor in the South.

The employment of children in mills and mines is bad enough at any age, but when there is no restriction it often results in cruelty. Instances of the fact were given in a speech delivered recently by Lieutenant Governor Guild of Massachusetts before the New England Cotton Manufacturers' association. He told of the employment of southern mills of children of ten years of age, and even younger, at both night and day work.

There is no law on the subject in nearly all of the south; hence very young children are employed twelve hours on both night and day work. It is difficult to believe that such little children can keep awake at nights to serve in cotton mills, but, hired out to their parents and watched by "bosses," they serve these long hours for very small pay.

As Lieutenant Governor Guild remarked, there is no need of anything of the kind. There is only one northern state that permits the employment of such young children, and that state is Vermont. But it has a law which restricts the employment of children to those over ten years, while in southern mills they are employed when under ten years of age. Massachusetts prohibits the age to fourteen and ten hours of employment to fifty-eight per week, Connecticut to fourteen years and sixty hours' employment and Rhode Island to twelve years and fifty-eight hours. Other states not engaged to any great extent in cotton manufacturing also limit the hours for children. But there is no law in the south restricting child labor excepting the one in South Carolina, which went into effect May 1. That forbids the employment of children under ten years.

The south has abundant cheap labor without employing little children in the mills. It should not use those little innocents for any purpose and certainly not to compete with New England in producing cotton cloths. It can produce without them and should put a stop to this unnatural cruelty.—Philadelphia Press.

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Women in Trades Unions.

Can women and girls be organized into trade unions with success? Can they through organization stand together and battle for their rights in the face of opposition from their employers?

These are questions that are frequently asked today, and many earnest union men still look upon unions as something belonging akin to students, believing that they are but temporary affairs, formed for some special purpose, and immediately that purpose is accomplished they disband.

There is another class of men who still cling to the old idea that the proper sphere of woman lies in the home. This class does not seem to reckon with the changes in industrial development which have forced women and young girls into the factory.

It is hardly necessary to discuss the latter phase of the question, for the place of the woman in the industrial field is firmly established, thanks to modern methods of production.

There is perhaps no good an illustration of the effects of woman's entrance into the ranks of the trades unions as Chicago. In no other large city has the work of organization been carried out so successfully, and the results have amply demonstrated that women can be as active and staunch as men. In fact, instances can be quoted where strikes both men and women, and the men were the first to return to work without having gained the concessions they demanded.

The women have proved that the antagonism was not of the passive order but an active factor. While most of the unions of women in Chicago are of recent origin, the present indication points to their remaining an important factor in our shop and factory life. Lake Grant in American Federation

The Strike Breakers.

Where do the street car strike breakers come from? Investigation shows that one man in the country has almost a monopoly of the business of collecting the offscourings of the great cities in the main into a compact body for this purpose. James Farley is the man. He has his headquarters in New York city.

"Strike breaking is a business," said Farley recently in Watbury, Conn. "It's a business with money. That's all there is to it. I don't know how it came to be my business exactly. I just grew into it. You see got a start and passed from Brooklyn to Philadelphia, from Philadelphia to Cleveland, Cleveland to St. Louis, then to Lockport, around to Providence, Erie, Scranton and a lot of small towns in the east and New England states, and there I was in business with a list of men who were ready to come out with me for the money or excitement of the thing."

"How about the strike breakers?" was asked.

"You mean the nonunion men," corrected quickly. "Well, they speak for themselves. How did I come to collect them? Well, that is easy. You see after I had been in two or three strikes I began to meet old friends. They were everywhere I went, and I came to the conclusion I would learn something about them, and I did. Then when company would say, 'Farley, can you get us some good men?' I knew what a telegram would reach them. The men have kept growing until now I have about all I need for an emergency."

"Who are the men?" Farley bit the end of his cigar. "That's hardly fair question, for some of them are angels, and we shouldn't talk of interest. To size them up, I should say that some of my men are old union men who lost their jobs in some strike and at its end found themselves with grievance for some reason against the organization which had started to redress their wrongs. And the majority of my men are young fellows who really like it for the dancer. Some even regret. The pay is double that of an average trolley employee, the hours are long, and there is not a dull moment."

"You'd be surprised at some of the men. Some of them are young fellows of good education and good families who chose this instead of the law for an unexplained cause. We had several former soldiers, we had a doctor once, a young lawyer, a couple of college graduates, one of them an football player, and just the other day a banker of Pennsylvania wrote to me to ask if his nephew was not in Watbury."

"It's surprising how many applications for jobs the companies get during a strike. But only a very small percentage of them are accepted. It makes an unusual man to work during a strike."—New York Herald.

Japan's Federated Labor.

Japan has a federation of labor with almost 300,000 members, a writer from the land of the mikado claims. It writes that this organization has been struggling for improved conditions for the working class in Japan, and its efforts are being rewarded by the enactment of a factory law regulating hours of labor, age of workers, etc., and compelling employers to be considerate of the health and safety of the employees.

Organizer's Salary \$15,000 a Year.

The annual labor conference of delegates from trades unions in Australia meeting in Sydney, New South Wales has just adopted a resolution in favor of a levy of sixpence per annum upon members of unions and leagues in order to pay a salary of "not less than \$15,000 a year" to an organizer of the general political work for the Labor party.

Pork and Cancer.

Many English doctors are now convinced that the eating of pigs' flesh in different forms is greatly responsible for the increase of cancer. The point out that it is most common among the poor, whose chief meat is that of pigs, while the disease is extremely rare among the Jews.

RUSKIN Literary Department of Board of Christian Education, Chicago; head of London School of Industrial Studies.

Jurisdiction Fights.


They are Suicidal and Cause the Loss of Friends to Union Labor.

Recent events in the labor world furnish several examples of the possibility that it would be more nearly correct to probable—intenable positions the printing trades unions may be placed in the efforts to secure peace between typographical and pressmen's unions prove abortive," says W. B. Prescott, former president of the International Typographical union. Reference made to the "jurisdiction fights" between unions, of which there seem to be more than the usual number this year, and if these disgraceful strikes have not been more numerous than heretofore the unions engaged in them were more important and the consequences disastrous than we have experienced since the struggle for supremacy between the unions and the Knights of Labor in the eighties. At that time the unions were on the defensive, and it was feared their peculiar system of government was to be supplanted by a new and untried form of organization. This gave a color—and just a color—of justification for the regrettable harmful policy pursued in some localities at that time. There is now such question involved. Judicious unionists look on and are powerless to prevent strikes being called for the purpose of gratifying a lust for power on the part of a union that wishes to crush an organization similar in all essential features, but numerically weaker. And when the conflict of no principle has been conserved, one adherent has been won to the cause of labor. On the contrary, many have been lost; thousands of well-to-do, constrained to withhold their sympathy, finally turned from the workers' disgust, while the direct evil effect that flows from ordinary industrial strife are increased many fold, for fratricidal strike is usually the more bitter way of all strikes. Inevitably the nonunion employer fattens on such a war, while the innocent employer of union men is the greatest mediate sufferer. In the end the workers who indulge in these wild wars must pay for the music, and their contribution is exacted from them in shape of work diverted into other channels or in a terrorized, though perhaps victorious, union being compelled to accept less favorable work contracts. If there were no moral considerations involved unions should have sufficient pride to refrain from entering on a quarrel in which their best friends—their employers—would become the chief victims.

'Womese Wage Workers.


One hundred and sixty thousand men in Chicago every morning standing to work in shop and mill and street and factory is the army of the unemployed in petticoats. Against this army in skirts is an army of 600,000 men in all lines of professional and manual work. But steadily the army in skirts is gaining upon the army in trousers until there is scarcely an employment open to man which has no woman representative somewhere in competing with man in his own or exclusive field.

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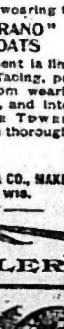
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WHAT WE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS ARE AFTER.

(Adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind. July 31, 1901.)

The Socialist party, in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the workers.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workmen to a state of intellectual, physical, and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire economic system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit. The workers, who are the backbone of the nation, are treated as mere tools. They are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage-workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent strength, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, and bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.
















The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depends upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The collective ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied annually to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.
2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.
3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be furnished by the government and to be administered under the control of the working class.
4. The inorganization of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose, in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.
5. The education of all children up to the age of 18 years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.
6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.
7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

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A LABOR DAY SERMON BY VICTOR L. BERGER.

LABOR PEOPLE ARE DAMNED.

What are we to do to be saved? For, truly, the large majority of the population—the very part that does all the hard labor, manual and nerve labor—is now damned to a hell without hope or likelihood of redemption. They are doomed to a life of suffering, of misery, of ignorance and of constant torment. They live scantily from day to day, are badly fed, badly dressed, and badly housed and what is worse, are in constant danger of being deprived of opportunity to labor; and that casualty may in a short time turn the well-meaning workman into a good-for-nothing idler, his wife and daughters into despised creatures of lust, and his own into thieves.

And, queerly enough: while our laws protect property and "morals," capitalists and murderers, they do not protect the man in need of work. He finds himself confronted with the alternative of taking "charity" or of starving. If he wants protection, he must commit a crime. He must steal, rob or become a common drunkard. Then he is "protected" by the law. He is sent to a jail or a so-called "house of correction." And some agent of the county or of some organized private charity "takes care" of his wife and children.

Now is this all.

MISERY IN THE WORLD.

By the mere fact that they are the children of the laborer, his children are as a rule condemned to the same fate as the parents. Except they be saved by a streak of good luck they are doomed to become laborers also.

For no matter how talented the children may be, they get no training, no education or proper care, for their parents, partly from ignorance, partly from misery, cannot give it. They are sent to work while still very young, for they must help sustain the family, or starve with it. The wolf must be kept from the door, even if all the sweet ties of affection and paternal love have to be severed.

The children must slave with their parents or starve with them. Their suffering begins when they are mere babes, in fact even before they are born.

The cruel Calvinist doctrine of predestination of people who are to be damned, finds its realization in the condition of our working people.

Truly, they need salvation. They need it in this world. What, then, must they do to be saved?

And yet if we look closer there are all the elements near to make a comparative heaven out of this hell. There are all the things that laborers need in all countries and in plenty. Especially is this so in America, where there are plenty of all good things, for the laborers have produced them. And if there should not be enough they would produce more, if permitted to do so.

Right here we catch a glimpse of one of the cardinal points of the whole question: the question of all the misery in the world.

The workmen would and could produce everything in plenty, but they cannot do so now at will. They must wait for somebody else to permit them to do so, to give them work, for they do not own the tools or the raw materials.

Think this over a minute and see if it is not so.

The tools (i. e., the machines) are expensive now-a-days, therefore they are under complete control of the capitalist class. And the tools of today also require a great amount of raw materials and to buy that requires capital, which is another reason why capital controls production.

You see then that "capitalism" now is the wall that the devil has put up between the laborer and his product.

The laborers cannot, under present conditions, employ themselves, but are dependent on the will and convenience of some owner of tools and materials. And not for love, nor for Christian charity does the owner of the tools and materials give the laborers employment. He does so to invest capital and to make a profit.

And the workman's labor has become a mere ware, in the market, and as such his labor (i. e., himself) is subject to the same conditions as every other ware, the conditions of supply and demand. And he and his labor are now subject also to competition.

The workman's labor, or rather his time, that is his life, is bought now in the open market by the highest bidder on one hand from the LOWEST GIVER on the other. And the capitalist or employer cares to buy the laborer's time only when he is young, strong and healthy. Why, he is sick, or when he gets old, the employer has no use for him. "Business is business," you know.

And because of this we see that our so-called free worker is actually worse off than the blacks were under slavery before the war. The black was "property" and represented about \$1,000 of value which his master owned. Therefore the master took good care of him, and was anxious to have him in good condition as long as possible. "Business is business," you know!

It is of course different with the white slaves. THEY ARE FREE TO STARVE! Who cares? There is usually no capital lost by their being starved.

The average capitalist is, therefore much more concerned about his horse or dog than about his workmen, many of whom he does not even know by name.

I have said that workers are now subject to competition. And competition has come to have a fearful meaning for them. For on the one hand it compels the employer to get his labor as cheap as possible, while on the other laborers are driven to the desperate necessity of competing with each other in order to maintain an existence. Employers of this and other countries now get their labor from the laborer for a price much below the productivity of that labor.

How did this come about? Well, by the development of modern machinery.

INTRODUCTION OF MACHINES.

In the middle ages, before capitalist production had come upon the scene, a system of small industries prevailed and in some few cases continued almost to the present day. This system rested on the ownership by the workman himself of the means of production. The instruments of labor were then paltry, dwarfish and cheap. And for that very reason, as a rule, they belonged to the producers themselves. Since the Fifteenth century, and especially since the power of steam was utilized, these limited implements of production were gradually enlarged, united and improved—by and by the common tool of the middle ages and even some of the instruments that were common fifty years ago and later, were transformed into the machines of today.

In place of the hand loom, the spinning wheel and the smith's hammer there appeared the mechanical loom, the spinning machine and the steam hammer. Instead of the single workshop there appeared the factory that combines the united labor of hundreds and of thousands. At the same time production was transformed from a series of isolated (individual) acts into a series of social and combined acts. (Engels.)

The yarn, the cloth, the metal articles which now come out of the factory, are the joint product of the many people through whose hands they had to go successively, before being ready.

No single person can say of them: "This I have made, this is my work." And in spite of this, these SOCIAL tools and SOCIAL products are treated the same way as they were at the same time when the tool was an individual tool and when the product was created by the individual. So the present NEW mode of production remains subject to the old form of appropriation; although the new form of production does away with the very CONDITIONS on which the old form was based. In times of old the owner of the simple tool appropriated, or took for his own use, his OWN product, while now—and it is important to fully grasp this fact—the owner of the tool (of the machine) appropriates the work of OTHERS. He appropriates this without a jury and without a verdict.

And so we see plainly that the PRIVATE OWNERSHIP of the MEANS OF PRODUCTION, which was formerly the means of securing the product of the producer, has now become the means of exploitation—and consequently of servitude. The development of the tool into the machine SEPARATES the workman from his product. In this way a comparatively small number of capitalists obtain a monopoly of the means of production.

HAVE TO ACCEPT TERMS.

And with a system like this, it is only natural that the rich should become richer and the poor poorer.

Free competition imposes no restraint upon the powerful. They are at liberty to exploit the poor workman to their heart's content.

And another thing: The strength on the capitalist side is so great that the capacity for resistance on the side of the workmen is so limited, that there is actually NO FREEDOM OF CONTRACT. The monopoly of the tools has made the employers into a class of autocrats and the laborers into a class of dependents—of hirelings. The laborer is simply a hired appendage to the machine. The machine has come to be the main thing. THE COSTLY THING—the living appendage, the laborer, can be gotten without much trouble or cost. Now-a-days if an owner of tools does not want to let a workman work, the latter has no means of subsistence unless he finds some other "lord of production" who will permit him to produce something.

And so this system now creates the dependence of the thousands upon the few.

The working people cannot do the work that is the most necessary for themselves and for the community at any particular time, but must do the work for which they are paid, whether that work is necessary or not. It is frequently the case that the workman furnishes things of luxury for others while he himself is suffering for the necessities of life. For instance there are a lot of stone masons and bricklayers out of work and their productivity at a standstill, although they want to work. But after they have been out of employment all winter they cannot build houses for themselves next spring, but must wait till some rich person is ready to build a grand palace, often one that will remain vacant all the year round—I have in mind several such in this city—or they will have to work on a grand stable for a street car magnate's horses. Perhaps they will have to build a house for God although he does not need any houses, all the world is supposed to be his house. But as a matter of fact, God has already plenty of houses standing empty during the week—and most of them even on Sundays, because the pews are rented out like real estate.

It is plain, then, that the workman cannot do the work that is most necessary, but only the work he is paid to do, by some capitalist or combination of capitalists whose interests have precedence before the interests of the people at large. Workingmen now-a-days are mere things to the employer. He counts HIS steers and sheep by heads and HIS workers by hands.

It is a paltry evasion of our capitalists to say that the workers are free to accept or to refuse the terms of their employers. The laborer HAVE to consent. If they refuse the terms, there are plenty of others, hungry, starved and desperate, ready to take their places. But suppose it were possible that the employer could not get other men to take the place of those who refused the terms offered (and pray do not for a moment think that such could actually be the case, this is merely a case of supposition) the employer could stand it; he would merely stop business for the time being. And do not, I beg of you, imagine for one instant that he would suffer privation by doing so. His home would be just as radiant with luxuries as ever and he would probably try to endure life by a trip to some foreign country and then perhaps come back to write a book on "Triumphant Democracy," as Andrew Carnegie did after the battle of Homestead.

CAUSE OF "HARD TIMES."

Now, another important consideration. Since the working people of the country do not receive the full value of their products how can they be expected to buy back those products? Their numerical strength makes them the chief consumers of the country, and those on whom the production mainly depends. In this way (by the laboring people not being able to consume enough) and by the planless way in which production is carried on in general, the SO-CALLED over-production is created. That is, no matter how much or how little the toilers of a nation create, they always create more than they are able to buy with their wages. And in this way the so-called crisis originates. They have come upon us about every fifteen years, roughly speaking, since capitalist production began its sway. At such times the trade and the manufacturing of a nation come to a standstill, because "there is too much on hand."

And the working people have to stop work and go hungry and BECAUSE THERE IS TOO MUCH ON HAND. Think of it!

But statesmen, newspapers, lawyers and so-called "reformers" on such occasions claim that it is either too much silver or too little silver or lack of confidence (!) or the tariff or what not that is the cause of the crisis, or of the panic, as it is sometimes called.

But hard times are really hard on those whose only subsistence depends on their having work to do.

For the poor people the times are ALWAYS hard.

During "hard times" the wives and daughters of the capitalist do not leave off attending balls, parties and the opera in their silks and diamonds. On the contrary if the times are very hard, the charity organizations, which, in spite of some good intentions that are back of them, are intended to deal out hush money to the dispossessed, simply arrange a "Charity ball." They then dance, eat—yes, and drink—for the poor!

As far as security of work is concerned the workman of the present time is worse off than any of his predecessors in history. He is worse off actually than the black slave was. In fact the irregularity of his employment, the frequency with which he is out of work, is the most alarming feature of the workman's condition. The toiler of today cannot work when he wants to, or when he ought to, in order to support himself and family. He can only work when it is to the "profit" of the employer that he should do so.

For instance, in order to keep up the price of steel the Illinois Steel company gives its numbered slave more holidays than is good for him and his family. Even leaving such cases as that out of the question, now-a-days no employer can afford to give his men work when there is no profit in it for him. He cannot well carry on his business at a loss, at least for any great length of time. In such a case he has to stop business and that means to stop production. Whether his workmen ought to work in order to live, whether they MUST work in order to live, that is a matter he cannot stop to consider. The only matter of consideration is the "profit."

This condition of things is rendered enormously more precarious by every new invention, by every new so-called "labor-saving device." These new inventions, these victories of man, of society, over nature's physical forces, ought certainly to be unequalled blessings to all. Yet how often have they proven actual instruments of torture to the toilers! How many have the introduction of machinery thrown out of employment? How many existences have thereby been destroyed? All the advantage of all the new inventions, machines and improvements now mainly go to the small class of capitalists. While on the other hand these new inventions, machines and improvements and labor devices displace human labor and steadily increase the army of the unemployed, who starved and frantic are ever ready to take the places of those who have work, thereby still further depressing the labor market. It is from this army that the capitalists recruit their special police, their deputy sheriffs, their Pinkerton detectives and some of their most useful politicians.

(To be continued next week.)

That savings bank averages are distorted in such a way, so as falsely to show a great increase of the average wealth of working men, is an actual fact. It has been several times exposed. The Massachusetts statistics have exposed it, and so, more recently, have those of Connecticut. Upon the Connecticut exposure, the Pittsburg (Pa.) Post of December 31, 1901, had this to say:

"The savings banks reports are deceptive in that they are being used for investment purposes by rich people, rather than by the wage workers. The Connecticut savings banks increased their deposits the past year by \$9,500,000, bringing the total up to \$193,000,000 in round numbers. But of this sum only \$76,000,000 belongs to depositors who have less than \$1,000 to their credit. One bank reports an individual account of \$60,000, to which was added \$4,850 during the year, although the law forbids any bank receiving more than \$1,000 from any depositor during the year."

In the instance mentioned the limitation law of Connecticut seems to have been violated openly. That such laws are extensively and systematically evaded is evident from the following extract from a circular letter from the City Trust Co., of 36 Wall street, New York, seeking to draw away from savings banks some of the patronage of their rich clients:

"Savings banks depositors will find this company's facilities in many ways of greater advantage than the savings bank. This is especially true of those who are now using savings banks as a species of investment, and who are compelled to arrange their deposits so that the lawful maximum amount which is permitted to an individual account shall not be exceeded, and to accomplish which it is necessary to use different titles and patronize different banks."

A little intelligent reflection upon this aspect of the matter may explain to the jubilant though somewhat mystified editor of the Cincinnati Evening Post, why workingmen whose living expenses are much increased without a corresponding increase in their wages, nevertheless appear to have "salted away" a much larger "average" of savings bank deposits than ever before.—The Public.

Wisconsin Notes.

Three new ward branches ready to ask for charters is the news that means most from Kenosha. The comrades are getting the Socialist machine ready to grind when the time comes.

Comrade Gaylord is to speak at the West Bend County Fair on the 18th of this month. This will break new ground for us in another county, and start the active campaign among the farmers.

Neenah comrades organized a big street meeting for the State Organizer on Wednesday evening of last week. He is to visit them again next week, and help complete the organization of the Third Ward branch.

Comrade Hagerly spoke this week at Racine and Green Bay to large audiences. Kenosha and Racine are co-operating, as many from Kenosha heard Father Sherman at Racine in his attack upon Socialism.

The Machinists Helpers and Handy Mens Union marched in a body to the Social Democratic headquarters on Labor Day and supplied themselves with party buttons before going into the parade. That is a strain in the wind that indicates a rising tide of Socialism among the younger men in the unions.

What with Debs at Madison, Hagerly at Milwaukee, Mally at Sheboygan, Simons at Beloit—putting periods in La Follette's speech—Bessing at Neenah, Holmes at Fond du Lac, and Gaylord at Watertown, Labor Day in Wisconsin seems to have created a goodly demand for Socialist orators.

State Organizer Gaylord spoke on Friday and Saturday of last week at Kenosha on the market square. Large crowds gathered to hear him on both occasions, and collections and contributions to the agitation fund amounted to \$5.25. The Kenosha comrades are organizing a Herald campaign which will soon put them second only to Milwaukee in that respect.

In the Beloit-Janesville Rockford Labor Day celebration speech Comrade Simons reminded Gov. La Follette that the capitalists of Berlin, who compelled the machinists after the strike to take oath that they would not join any union for a year, were guilty of a criminal action and ought to be prosecuted by the Attorney General. It is well that the Beloit unionists had one Socialist in their gathering that day who could talk in the interests of laborers, or the process of grafting begun by the Hogan crowd might have been checked by the worthy Governor's flattery, and political handouts added to the ones put on the workmen of Beloit by the capitalists after the failure of their mislaid strike.

THE MINNESOTA STATE LECTURE VAN.

The Socialist State Lecture Van, in charge of Comrades Guy E. Etherton and Geo. L. Martin, has been doing valiant service for the cause in Minnesota during the summer season.

The season has been unusually favorable for the open air campaign. In three and a half months that the van has already been out, only two evenings have meetings been prevented by inclement weather. The campaign will have covered over 1,000 miles drive, and have included over 100 of the largest cities and villages in the state. About 125 speeches will have been made by each of the comrades.

The van has worked at many places where there are party organizations, but the campaign has been for the most part pioneer agitation. In the greater number of places visited the people have heard a Socialist speech for the first time. Substantial results of the van work are already manifest in applications for charter, and inquiries about speakers and organization. Quantities of literature have been distributed and sold, collections for the state fund have averaged about \$8.00 per week.

Most of this work of agitation outside of the few industrial centers has been in farming communities. As there has been much controversy as to the place that the farmer should occupy in the Socialist movement, it may be of interest to quote from a letter from Comrade Etherton on this point:

"We have had a good hearing," writes Comrade Etherton, "all along the line. Frequently an intensity of interest is manifested in the way the audience hangs upon the words of the speaker. But without exception the attention of the people has been considerable and thoughtful. In a few instances there have been conspiracies of a few capitalist-funkies and political crooks to break up our meetings by counter-attractions; but such attempts have invariably turned to our own advantage, and the advertisement of the movement."

"Judging from such contact as we have had with the farming communities, I believe there is no place in the country where Socialism is making a more rapid growth than among the Minnesota farmers of this north-west. This growth is most quickly manifest where the populist revolt was strongest."

Our van is very neat and attractive in appearance; built especially for this purpose, with photograph outfit, gasoline lights, rear platform for speaking etc. It is painted in black enamel, highly polished, with appropriate mottoes in gold letters, side black-boards for announcing place and time of meeting, and a going to call the attention of the people to the advertisement. It has a substantial cover, with leather side, front and rear curtains, affording a complete shelter when necessary. The upholstered side seats are large and commodious, making very comfortable beds. It has conveniences for light house-keeping. It is a vehicle that no Socialist need be ashamed of, and cannot fail to leave the impression with the audience that such an outfit must have a strong organization behind it. Everywhere a meeting is announced a large audience is sure to be on hand before the meeting is opened, making the work much easier for the speakers.

S. M. Holman, State Secy. of Minnesota.

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One secret of success is to have some money ahead with which to grasp your opportunity when it comes. Open a savings account with us today. Savings Department, Germania National Bank.

We Socialists have something to say that every man on earth may well give ear to. The capitalist press has prejudiced people against Socialism, because it will eventually mean the abolition of capitalism. They do want people to know that it is a thing for their benefit. We must counteract this by getting our literature before the people. Look over our leaflet list elsewhere in this number and order a bundle of them.

Comrade Gaylord will address an open air meeting Wednesday Sept. 16 at 8 P. M. at the corner of Potter and Kinzie streets, 17th ward. Comrades and friends take notice.

The Herald is a clean paper that no one need be ashamed to hand to friend or stranger. Spread the light of Socialism. To keep it concealed is a crime.

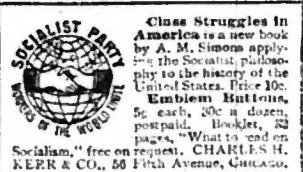
SIMONS IN BELOIT.

The trade unions of Janesville, Wis., Beloit, Wis., and Rockford, Ill., celebrated their Labor Day jointly in Beloit, Wis., Comrade A. M. Simons, the editor of the International Socialist Review, had been invited upon the solicitations of comrades in Janesville and Rockford, as the speaker of the day—while the Brittain-Hogan-Dow aggregation of labor fakirs in Beloit insisted upon inviting Gov. Robert M. La Follette. The Beloit crowd having charge of the affair, a very peculiar situation arose. We are informed that every effort was made to sidetrack Simons. In the first place it was stated the La Follette would only speak after Simons. Then in order to avoid riding in the parade with Simons, La Follette came in on the interurban electric after the parade had gone. He then avoided riding out to the grounds with Simons, although this delayed him nearly 30 minutes on his speech. Naturally, Simons was not particularly sorry at not being mixed up with him. Every possible effort was made to show Simons discourtesy. No escort whatever was provided for him to the grounds. Simons was not asked upon the speaker's stand, while La Follette was speaking until the Janesville and Rockford boys began a demonstration. La Follette then talked two hours and a half and his lieutenants admitted that this was with the avowed intention of tiring the crowd out so they would not listen to Simons. Then, they brought a band upon the stage and announced that it would play. At this some of the Janesville and Rockford fellows started on to the platform and demanded that the band be withdrawn. This was done, and a negro with a guitar was introduced. He gave an alleged solo which drove a few of the crowd away. Simons was then introduced and the entire committee at once left the stand, leaving him alone. A large part of the crowd, however, stayed, and they continued to increase in spite of the fact that a ball game and races were at once started in other parts of the ground.

La Follette had given his regular talk on railroad rates which he is giving around at the State fairs. He had declared that he knew nothing about the local Beloit situation. Simons in his speech suggested that it was rather strange that La Follette was to be so informed on the political situation in Beloit and knew nothing about the industrial situation.

Simons then took up the Berlin strike which, as our readers know, has been lost, the men having been permitted to go to work only on condition that they go before a jury public and swear that they will have nothing whatever to do with the trade unions. This is contrary to the State law which provides for a fine of \$100, in each case where an employee shall be coerced. Simons called attention to this fact, and then

said: "I regret very much that the Governor is not here that I might ask whether an exception was made of this law in the oath which he took to enforce the laws of his state." Our readers may easily imagine that this created a small sensation and the Beloit machinists, in spite of the fakirs, cheered for some minutes. Simons then gave them a straight Socialist speech and called attention to the way in which they were robbed in the shop by the system of capitalism and pointed out the overwhelming importance of this robbery as compared with the railroad rate question in relation to workingmen. The audience as a whole seemed to be with him and a crowd gathered round him after it was over. Naturally the fakirs were very angry with him.



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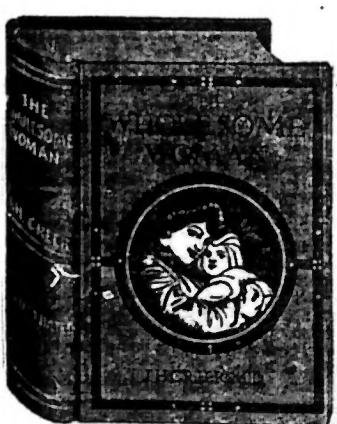
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FREDERIC HEATH, EDITOR.

Official Paper of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee and of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

Entered at Milwaukee Post-office as Second-class Matter, Aug. 20, 1901.

What International Socialism Demands:

1. Collective ownership of public utilities and all industries in the hands of Trusts and Combinations.

2. Democratic management of such collective industry.

3. Reduction of the hours of labor and progressively increased remuneration.

4. State and National Insurance for the workers and honorable rest for old age.

5. The inauguration of public industries to safeguard the workers against lack of employment.

6. Education of ALL children up to the age of 18 years. No child labor.

7. Equal political and civil rights for men and women.

If you believe in the above vote with the Social Democrats.

Situation in the Democratic Party.

In Ohio and Nebraska the Democratic state conventions were held on the same day, and in both the Bryan element triumphed. From Nebraska this was to be expected, but Ohio was not so certain. There a factional fight took place between the "conservative" and the "radical" Democrats, and the latter have triumphed, but not absolutely, nor by entirely fair means. They had the credential committee in their hands, and as the custom is in such cases, threw out all their "contested" opponents. However, whether this be fair means or not, they triumphed all the same. They determined the platform and selected the candidate. The latter is Tom Johnson, the present mayor of Cleveland, a man of energy and wealth, who if he becomes governor of Ohio this year, will doubtless be the presidential candidate of the radical wing of the Democrats next year, and may be their candidate even in case of his defeat. This defeat is very probable, because the conquered Democratic faction—although the hand of reconciliation was extended to them in the form of a nomination of one of their men to the United States Senate, in place of Hanna—will probably whet their knives to slaughter Johnson. And moreover, Ohio is a Republican state.

The most important result of these two conventions is that Bryan still rules the Democratic party organization in the west. What occurred in Ohio will without doubt be repeated in Illinois, Indiana and other western states. Bryan will keep the upper hand; the Kansas City platform will be endorsed, and the "reorganizers" of the party everywhere will receive the good advice to go to the devil or to the Republicans. The outlook for a "unification" of the Democrats is not one hair better today than one year or three years ago. The Kansas City platform was indeed a good deal diluted at Columbus—there was no longer any mention of free silver—but even this platform and especially the persons who stand behind it are exceedingly distasteful to men like Cleveland, Olney and Gorman. In fact the two factions belong only nominally to one and the same party; actually they have nothing in common with each other.

Since a reconciliation is therefore quite out of the question, the south will have to decide about this time next year, which of the two northern factions it will join. It is the deciding factor and chooses that element which promises it success. The defeated faction will then reappear, what happened three and eight years ago; it will holt, put up its own candidates or vote for the Republicans, or stay away from the polls. Then it was the conservatives who acted thus; next year it may again be the conservatives or even the "radicals," according as the south renders its decision.

Under present circumstances, Roosevelt, who has no rival in his party, may be considered sure of victory. But in one year many things in our country can change. A financial crash for instance could radically alter the political situation. The nomination of a conservative Democrat might give the great capitalists a safe opportunity to punish Roosevelt for his anti-trust attitude, harmless as it is, and for his interference in the coal strike. Moreover the American trades unionists must be the most unpardonable blockheads if they take quietly Roosevelt's recent public stand against organized labor. So it is not perfectly smooth sailing for Roosevelt, although it must be granted that he has the advantage in the race.

For us the question is, how much longer can the Democratic party hold together. The factional fight within it cannot continue to all eternity. A donkey is proverbially patient and enduring, but even a donkey dies at last. We are somewhat impatient to enter on the inheritance of the Democratic donkey. In the last election we polled about 300,000 votes, next year we should increase this to over a million—even the Milwaukee Sentinel has become somewhat agitated over the dangers of Socialist success in this part of the country—and then we shall receive serious attention. The last hope of reorganization of the Democratic party died with John P. Altgeld. The Socialists must bury it.

Half Hours in the Herald Sanctum.

Green Bay, Wis., Sept. 8.

Dear Comrade: We were attacked yesterday in all the Catholic churches in regard to Father Hagerty, claiming he is an excommunicant of the church and warning all Catholics to stay away from the lecture. I do not think that this warning to Catholics will lessen the crowd at all and in fact we look forward to a still larger crowd than we at first anticipated.

Chas. J. Loignon.

Newark, N. J., Sept. 3.

Dear Friend: Send S. D. Herald to the enclosed list of thirteen new subscribers.

G. H. Strobell.

Whitewater, Wis., Sept. 6.

Dear Comrade: I will enclose a \$5 cent coin. Please send me a dozen or so of the jubilee number of the Social Democratic Herald, Sept. 5th issue. I shall BE JUST PROUD to hand them to certain persons here in Whitewater and also mail three or four of them to distant friends.

How about the Milwaukee Sentinel

Eau Claire, Wis., Sept. 8.

Dear Comrade: The fires of Socialism are burning brightly in western Wisconsin. Marshfield was the point of vantage. The unions in that pretty little city had the audacity to invite me to deliver the Labor Day speech. Unfortunately the continual rain turned their beautiful park into a boiling place and we were obliged to speak to a small gathering of the "faithful" at their hall, but it all turned out for the best for I came in contact with a large number of Socialists of whom I had no knowledge and who volunteered to stand shoulder to shoulder with me in building up the movement in this section of the state.

The comrades at Marshfield will greatly strengthen their organization this fall. Comrade Otto of that city will assist me in organizing Grand Rapids, where there are now dozens of Socialists.

R. O. Stoll.

And he says that the postal scandals show that Socialism will not work. Trying to put the sins of capitalist politicians on the backs of the Socialists, eh? That's pretty smooth! And he doesn't fail to add that the postoffice could be run cheaper under private hands! He seems to be on the inside of the schemes of the capitalist politicians, which certainly have pointed that way. Does he honestly believe that we have cheap telegraphic rates today because private capitalists control that service? Does he believe that express rates are low? Outside of the thievery of capitalist politicians who use the postal system to pay political debts with, the real reason why the postal service has a deficit is because the railroads are privately owned, by the men who also control the government, so that they bleed the postoffice department dry by means of robber prices for carrying the mails. Verily, this E. B. Swinney better go and soak his head!

The Modern Union Movement And Its Aspect.

The modern trades union movement has only one clearly defined aim, and can have only this one aim: to help complete the revolution now taking place within the bosom of society, and this through active participation in an independent political labor party. The modern union labor movement, besides trying to improve conditions now, aims at the abolition of wage labor—at least so say all the preambles in the trade union constitutions.

And what has induced these labor unions to set for themselves this aim, which can be reached only through violent revolutions? It is the consciousness that the fight of the unions solely in the economic field CANNOT better the condition of the great mass of the workers for any length of time, or in any considerable degree. Concentration of the instruments of labor (concentration of capital) has done away with the wage law which formerly was considered an "iron law," just as it has done away with duties within individual countries and with skilled hand labor. Supply and demand are no longer the regulators of wages and through them of the livelihood of the workmen. Capital is the sovereign lord in the labor market; it seldom pays more than is absolutely necessary to keep "the race" (plus a sufficient reserve force) from dying out. Only under exceptionally favorable circumstances can unions even with a strong organization succeed in attaining any success worth mentioning in the economic struggle. And for how long? That depends entirely on conditions to create which is not in the power of the labor organizations, but in the general conjunction of industry and trade.

The fight of the workmen against capital must of course be still carried on in the economic field to organize them, to keep them in good fighting trim and to resist further degradation. Also as recruiting stations for political battles the labor unions are a necessity.

Indeed, some progressive thinkers are of the opinion that they perhaps can serve as a kind of preparatory schools for an organization of the future, when a more just form of society shall carry on production in common. But labor unions, while they are an excellent means, can never have an AIM in THEMSELVES—for although certain union leaders assert that "harmony" between labor and capital is the aim of the unions, they nevertheless by their very existence signify PERPETUAL WAR between capital and labor.

There are various reasons why English and American workmen to some extent still have quite different ideas than their German brothers as to the objects to be accomplished by the unions.

The German unions are of recent date and were mostly founded by the Social Democratic party, that is, the political organization preceded the trade organization. What wonder then, that the stamp of Socialism has been impressed on them by this party, under which sign also they will conquer.

In England, on the other hand, the process of development was just the contrary, that is, some of the unions are more than a hundred years old, while the political labor movement is of the most recent date. It is therefore only natural that the English trade union movement up to the present time has been so exceedingly conservative.

And the American trades union movement is of English origin, and formed exactly after the same pattern and under similar conditions.

In England there was formerly no lack of work, because the whole world was her market; nor in America, because here Nature had emptied her horn of plenty with such rich blessings over the land. And here as there the labor organizations in former years won some important victories in legislation. And here as there, up to the present time, circumstances have not matured a political labor party, because the conditions for it were not ripe.

But now all this has changed. Although in America nature offers such a superfluity of good things that mankind might almost be smothered with them, yet here we now find want as a constant factor in public and social life—want, introduced by anarchy in the industrial world. The constitutions of the separate states which in vain guarantee "equal liberties" to all citizens of the state in the political field, prove nothing but empty smoke against the economic slavery which holds captive the body and soul of the workman. The "friendliness to labor" of the old political parties, belief in the Christian virtues of patience and forbearance, the sermons of the priests and the lectures of "free-thinking" professors—all this can no longer fill or argue away the misery of hundreds of thousands.

The question is now simply: What shall we do to secure the opportunity for labor to people who wish to labor and produce? And the product of his labor to the producer?

The trades unions in America also must now aim at the solution of this problem. They must aim at the abolition of wage slavery. The trades unions should never lose sight of this object. They must set it up as the "shibboleth," as the distinguishing sign between the adherents of the new prevailing view and the old "Ephraimites."

Therefore an INDEPENDENT labor party, that is, independent political action of the workmen, is absolutely necessary, since it is impossible that one of the old capitalist parties will ever adopt this demand.

In America, as in all other civilized countries, the Social Democratic party is the political organization which represents the present demands of the working class, without losing sight of the final aim, "the collective ownership of all means of production and distribution." This party is therefore naturally the representative of the trades unions in the political field.

And we can only congratulate our Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee and the Wisconsin Federation of Labor that they have mastered this solution.

Gleanings from Busy Socialistic Fields!

NOTES FROM YANKEE LAND.

New locals were organized in Port Allegany and Galesburg, Penn., at the close of Ben Hanford's lectures in those towns.

J. Mahlon Barnes addressed the Labor Day demonstration at Latimer to commemorate the shooting of miners at that place in 1897.

Comrade Barkowski, the Polish Socialist agitator and organizer, is speaking in and around Philadelphia.

Comrade William Geroty, a young Hungarian speaker and organizer, has organized six Hungarian Socialist locals in different parts of the country.

The Socialists of Ft. Wayne, Ind., are prepared to test the local ordinance which prohibits street meetings, and a speaker will be sent there soon.

San Francisco comrades held their convention Aug. 30, nominated Frank R. Whitney for mayor and adopted a platform strongly opposed to fusion with the Independent Labor Party.

A "Sociological Course for Priests and Educated Laymen" was held in Dubuque, Ia., last month. Father P. J. Ming of Prairie du Chien, Wis., gave a series of seven lectures on Socialism and means to be employed in fighting it. This last point was discussed very thoroughly and practical hints in abundance were given.

Comrade Parmet of Philadelphia writes us to ask for suggestions as to "some good histories of the United States for a young man to study at evenings." As a Socialist paper we do not feel that we can recommend any of them. They all exalt hero worship. He will have to use his own judgment, taking such as are most available and reading them with due caution. Perhaps a good thing to do is to first read A. M. Simons' little pamphlet on Class Struggles in America, and then develop his reading along the lines suggested in the book.

At the city convention of the Social Democratic party of Yorkers, N. Y., held Monday Aug. 17th, the following city ticket was nominated:

For Mayor, Fritz Cassens.

For City Judge, Geo. C. Chadeayne.

For Justice of the Peace, Wm. R. Chappel.

"Our Fritz," the standard bearer, is a Cabinet Maker well known, a member of several organizations and respected by everyone. We expect to poll a big vote this fall, and call upon every working man of Yorkers to vote their own ticket. Vote under the Arm and Torch.

A Spokane comrade writes us as follows: "Will it be consistent with the present platform and teaching of the Socialist party for me in my individual capacity to manufacture and sell to private parties canes, washing machines, hoes, rakes, or other articles, or to paint pictures to sell to private persons? If so, what will be the character of exchange? Please give me your reasons for your position." In answer we have the following to say: Yes, it will be consistent with the purpose of the party if you continue to make a living for yourself. And to do so you must be guided by the prevailing business system, for you must bear in mind that we are still under capitalism. Under Socialism it would be entirely different. But at present you must conform to the rules of capitalism as far as your conscience will permit. You could not establish a co-operative commonwealth for yourself, you know! Nor could anyone else.

ACROSS THE HERRING POND.

Eighteen cities in Germany own and operate their street railway systems.

The Social Democratic party in Spain has a number of weeklies with a total circulation of 35,000. The party is represented in many communes, though not in Parliament.

There are 500,000 men out on strike in southern Russia and the government is practicing untold barbarities on them to drive them back to work. It is well to remark to those Populists and Bryan-Hearst Democrats who desire government ownership of some things on a profit basis that many of Russia's industries are government owned and operated and that many of these strikers are workers in those same governmentally operated industries. Paste that fact in your hat, and occasionally look inside the hat.

A cablegram from Chemnitz, Germany, dated August 29, gives the following humorous little story:

"The proprietor of the Hotel German Kaiser was ordered to remove his sign and select another name for his hostelry because he had allowed the Socialists to hold a meeting there. The hotel keeper selected the name of 'The Red Rag,' whereupon the police got very much excited and announced that he must shut up shop if he did not choose a less provoking name."

How the Social Democratic party in Spain has grown is proved by the following figures: At the first congress in 1888 18 sections were represented; at the second 23; at the third 32; at the fourth 34; at the last congress last year 73; now the number is raised to 100, and the party got 5,000 votes at the election; in 1903, 29,000 votes, which, considering the manner in which voters are terrorized at the polls and the results falsified, speaks volumes. Corruption is so general that the bourgeois parties gave at the last elections 14 million pesetas to defeat the Socialists. A vote fetched on the average 15 pesetas.

The income of the German Socialist party from all sources last year was \$150,065, an increase of \$66,345 on that of the previous year. The entire cost of the Reichstag elections to the party was \$70,515, being \$17,210 more than in 1898. "Vorwarts," the central organ of the party, has 78,500 subscribers, and the receipts exceeded the expenses by \$15,085. The illustrated comic Socialist paper, "Der Wahre Jakob," cleared \$6,165, and the Socialist organs issued in the chief provincial cities also report excellent progress. During the twelve months covered by the report men-

bers of the Socialist party have been sentenced for political reasons to altogether fourteen years' hard labor, thirty-six years' imprisonment, and \$4,175 in fines.

Another German gentleman, Herr Mitzsche, editor of the Saxon "Arbeiter Zeitung" (Sachsische Arbeiter-Zeitung), has been sentenced to three months imprisonment for insulting the King of Saxony. The newspaper, which is the local organ of the Socialist party, printed a short paragraph disavowing the comments of the Press on the fact that of the 23 members who represent Saxony in the Reichstag 22 were Socialists. Some of the papers wondered what the King of Saxony thought of this, to which the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" remarked that the King's views on the result of the elections could in no way concern the Saxon people. The court found that lese majesté was committed by the publication of the latter sentence. Galileo, when he made his historical revelation, observed: "The world is round for all that." Herr Mitzsche may truly say: "Lese majesté or no, the King's opinions are but as the sounding brass or tinkling cymbal!"

The Revolutionary Socialists of the department of Isere have announced Comrade Dr. L. Grefrier as their candidate for the French Senate, in place of the deceased Durart Savoyot.

George Gould, who has never soiled his hands with an honest day's labor in his life, says the zenith of prosperity is not yet reached. He says the present "prosperity" does not mean high water mark, by any means. As George's class is the only class that gets any of the prosperity, perhaps they know what they are talking about, although the suspicion is always strong that they are trying to prevent a repetition of that terrible "lack of confidence" that they used to claim as the reason for a former spell of hard times.

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Telephone Main 2894. H. W. BISTORIUS, Business Manager.

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The Herald has always striven to serve the cause of Socialism as cheaply and effectively as possible. It is our purpose not only to continue so, but to produce the paper even cheaper. The circulation has steadily grown—so much that the Board of Directors decided to purchase a machine to do our own addressing of wrappers. So far it has been done in Chicago, a rather inconvenient and annoying system. With a machine of our own we can guarantee more regular delivery of the Herald. It will improve the service considerably. But that is not all. Much actual money can be saved. To purchase this machine about \$400.00 will be required. We will need this money at once and ask the comrades to assist in raising the necessary funds. Remember, by boosting the Herald you help Socialism. Shares of stock in the Milwaukee Social Democratic Pub. Co. will be issued for every \$5.00 subscribed. Every shareholder will receive the Herald free of charge for life. Send in your mite.

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From National Headquarters.

Omaha, Neb., Sept. 5, 1903.

National Organizer Geo. H. Goebel, in one of his reports from Virginia, says: "The demand for workers is certainly intense. If the comrades in the better organized sections could only see the doors of opportunity that are opening to us on every hand the Special Organizing Fund would go up to \$5,000. Not a single locality have I been in, but there was evidence of an abundant harvest to be gathered for the effort. To do this there would have to be more money, but if it was not out of my province, and bearing the appearance of being colored by my relation to the party, I would feel compelled to put strongly to the party membership the need of putting out more of the oldest men we have at once."

Ben Hanford's dates from Sept. 11th onward are: Ohio, Sept. 12, Fremont; 13, Fostoria; 14, Springfield; 16, Cincinnati; 17, Hamilton, Indiana; Sept. 18, Jeffersonville; 19, Evansville; 20, Terre Haute; 21, Indianapolis; 22, Richmond; 23, Marion. He will begin in Illinois on October 1st, for two weeks in that state.

In a review of the political situation in Massachusetts, preliminary to the coming state election, the

Notice to Camden, N. J., readers.

L. Joster, 17 Hudson st., Camden, N. J., is authorized to take subscriptions for this paper.

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When you are buying a FUR HAT, either soft or stiff, see to it that the Genuine Union Label is sewed to it. If a retailer has lower labels in his possession and offers to put yours a hat for you, do not purchase him. He has not any right to hire loose labels. Loose labels in retail stores are counterfeits. Do not listen to any explanation as to why the hat has no label. The Genuine Union Label is perforated on four edges and sometimes only two. Keep a sharp lookout for the counterfeits. Unperforated manufacturers are using them in order to get rid of their seal-made hats. The John B. Russell Co. of Philadelphia, Pa., is a non-union concern.

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It is impossible to work harmoniously with Victor Berger who is High Priest in the S. D. P. I hereby leave the party, but still remain a Socialist outside of any party.

H. C. Berger, M. D.

STATEMENT.

Dr. H. C. Berger wishes the above to appear instead of his professional advertisement.

We have the following statement to add: Dr. Henry C. Berger left the Democratic party a little over three years ago, after an unsuccessful effort to get charge of the County Hospital. There were ugly stories in the papers at that time, about one of the candidates buying overcoats for the supervisors and trying to buy the vote of some of the others with hard cash; stories which resulted in a hand-to-hand fight between Dr. H. C. Berger and Supervisor Tracy who made the cold cash accusation. He then joined our party.

He had been with us but a very short time when the State Convention took place. Somebody nominated him for governor, for he has "a fine presence" and bears the title of a "doctor." Since he did not see fit to decline, Victor L. Berger, surprised at this queer behavior, declined for him.

Yet on the very same day, Dr. Henry C. Berger was nominated for congress in the 5th district.

Hardly a year afterwards Dr. Henry C. Berger was persistently mentioned in the capitalist papers for mayor. The convention did not see fit to nominate him.

Last fall, Dr. Henry C. Berger was again a candidate for congress in the 5th district, and now almost a year before the municipal election he was again persistently boomed in the capitalist papers for mayor, his picture printed, interviews inserted, etc.

Dr. Henry C. Berger from the very beginning tried to create discord and dissatisfaction in the party. Time and time again he would "quietly" say to the comrades that if only Victor L. Berger and his gang of cranks were forced out of the party, we should get many "prominent men" to join—some of whom "get red in the face when they only see the name of Victor L. Berger in print."

Dr. Berger a few weeks ago in a meeting of the 10th ward also declared that only recently Mayor David S. Rose advised him to leave the party "of crazy Victor L. Berger" and go back to the fold of the Democracy, they would take him back with open arms.

At the last meeting of the Central committee of Milwaukee, attended by 47 delegates, with all votes except one voted to approve the article published by Victor L. Berger on this matter and strongly commended him for the same.

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419 East Water Street.

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glasses. ARTIFICIAL EYES inserted

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The Labor Day Picnic in Milwaukee.

The parade of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee on Labor Day was a record breaker. Fourteen thousand workers were in line, including hundreds of women in carriages. The crowd was so large that the parade route was subject to the exploitation to which they are subject, were also an interesting feature.

The procession marched to Palat Park, where the annual picnic was held. 25,000 persons were on the grounds, yet perfect order was preserved. The weather was perfect, and every thing propitious for a day of enjoyment.

Father Thomas J. Hagerty addressed a highly responsive audience on and around the grand stand. We regret that we have not space for his address in full. Comrade Hagerty drew a humorous picture of the man who claims to have made all he has without any man's help, and showed that if from such a self-made man were taken all the products of social labor, he would have nothing left to boast of. Even the alphabet would be taken from him, that being the result of centuries of adaptation, and the first crude alphabet being so cumbersome that it would take all Milwaukee to advertise a Socialist speaker by its means. If the self-made man were obliged to make his own shoes, he must first be chambermaid-in-waiting to the calf whose hide furnished the leather, must invent and perform the processes of tanning, building factories and constructing machinery, all which would keep him busy many millions of years, and when the machines were ready his troubles would begin.

Comrade Hagerty denied that Socialists claimed the equality of all men. Some men are thin, some fat, some tall and many men are short in both senses of the word. But all men should be equal in the right to life and happiness—not the pursuit of happiness. Workingmen have been pursuing happiness for centuries and have not overtaken it yet. Workingmen are worse treated than the black slaves of the south or than mules, for mules have a market value, while if the workingman is maimed or killed in an accident, there are plenty of others to take his place. 232 miners recently lost their lives in a mine disaster in Wyoming, and 232 other miners at once climbed over the dead bodies of the victims to secure their job. Did you ever hear of 232 mules rushing forward to get work?

The workmen have too long been divided by national and religious differences. When you go to the butcher-shop or you ask for Catholic mutton-chops, or Presbyterian beefsteak, or Methodist sausages? The workmen have no right to blame the injunction judge. The capitalist politician and the injunction judge are simply obeying the instructions given them by the ballots of the workmen.

The speaker in conclusion urged the union men not to seal at the ballot-box, and advised the young women present to receive no attentions from any young man who has not the card of his union and the paid-up membership card of the Social Democratic party. The wage-worker who does not vote the Social Democratic ticket is a murderer.

The address was punctuated by applause and laughter. The great audience, many hundreds of whom stood through the entire speech.

Adelbert M. Dewey, special agent of the United States Department of Labor, briefly congratulated the workmen on their demonstration.

WORLD'S FAIR GUARANTEE ASSOCIATION.

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To enable persons with ordinary means to visit St. Louis next year to see the World's Fair, an association was formed which has established an agency in Milwaukee. For \$45.00 this association guarantees to take you to St. Louis and back, first class trip, to furnish meals and lodging, admission tickets to the Fair each day, a visit to all the best attractions on the "Pike" (as the Mississippi river, guides, official badges, etc. A week's stay is permitted and all this is guaranteed by a contract. The Exposition opens May 1st and closes October 31st, 1904. Any week can be selected. Members pay one dollar or more per week. All money is deposited in the Germania National Bank and receipted for. At St. Louis, where all funds are sent to, they are deposited with the American Central Trust Co. This plan offers an excellent opportunity to see the World's Fair on easy payments. The local representative, Wilson & Co., have opened an office in Room No. 325, Germania Building, where further information will be cheerfully given. The name of this organization is the World's Fair Guarantee Association.

Thompson and Mills in Nebraska.

The Socialists of Humboldt have had a series of splendid meetings. Friday evening and Saturday afternoon Comrade Carl D. Thompson spoke with telling effect. Saturday evening Walter Thomas Mills spoke. The first Thompson meeting was surprisingly well attended and successful; but each successive meeting was much more so. Several new members were added to the local, and number of subscriptions to Socialist papers taken and a quantity of literature sold. The meetings were successful far beyond the expectations of the comrades and they are all delighted. A county ticket will be put in the field as usual and arrangements are being made to organize the county. There's something doing in Richardson Co., Nebraska. The meetings so added to our numbers and energy that the effect will be felt throughout the country.

J. H. Berry.

We can assure our readers that the good work begun by Comrade Simons will be carried on by the State Committee, and will no doubt result in a strong Social Democratic movement in Beloit.

An entertainment and ball will be given by the Thirteenth Ward Branch, Sunday, Nov. 22, at Humboldt Turner Hall. Admission 10 cents. After 6 o'clock 25 cents.

All comrades who have not yet paid for the July 19th picnic tickets are requested to do so AT ONCE so that the numbers entitled to prizes may soon be determined.

Those Herald postals are just the thing for propaganda. Five for Two Dollars.

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Picnic Ticket Receipts.

So many comrades ask us how soon the picnic ticket prizes are to be given out that a word of explanation is necessary. Just as soon as ALL outstanding tickets are returned or paid for the prizes can be given and no sooner. Are you one who still holds tickets not returned or paid for? Then YOU are holding back these prizes. We again ask everybody still having tickets unsold for to clean up this matter at once.

Previously reported.....\$979.00

D. Soref, city.....	1.00
Arthur Weber, city.....	.10
Chas. Kollme, city.....	.40
Rich. Haerdel, city.....	1.00
Otto Hinz, city.....	.70
H. W. Schroeder, city.....	.50
Henry Elmer, city.....	.20
Mike Wolf, city.....	.50
C. Beered, city.....	.50
Wm. F. Schultz, Sheboygan.....	1.00
15th Ward Branch, city.....	2.00
Wm. Pfege, city.....	.20
E. Borgman, city.....	1.00
18th Ward Branch, city.....	1.20
Otto M. city.....	.50
Alfred Heiss, city.....	.20
P. Jacobs, city.....	.50
J. Cambier, city.....	.50
Jud. Desmitter, city.....	.50
A. Quigley, city.....	.20
W. H. Buer, city.....	.50
Albert Gunz, city.....	1.00
L. Schaaf, city.....	.50

Total.....\$983.70

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